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P R I C E O F P R O V I S I O N S.

T O W H I C H I S A D D E D A N

A P P E N D I X,

C O N T A I N I N G A

Table of the average Price of Wheat in every Year,
from the Year 1595 to 1790, inclusive.

By the REV. SEPTIMUS HODSON, M. B.
Chaplain of the Asylum for Female Orphans.

L O N D O N :

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THIS Address is sent out into the world with the sole hope of contributing some assistance to the burdens of the times. While the great object therefore of the Author is to render it useful, he is open to conviction in any error, or to improvement in any deficiency. His best endeavours have been exerted to procure information, and on this account his thanks are due to some valuable friends. Still however in some points he may possibly be mistaken, and others might have been more profitably urged. He shall therefore think himself obliged to the intelligent and benevolent for communications; and invites their co-operation in the common cause.

ASYLUM,
July 17, 1795.



A N

A D D R E S S, &c.

IN times of public danger or distress it is the duty of every good citizen to contribute his assistance of talent or property, according to his ability, to avert the one and to alleviate the other. To this he is impelled by the principle of self preservation, as strongly as by the duty of social relationship. The author of this Address, feeling, in common with his fellow citizens, the domestic distresses of the country, and looking forward with the extreme anxiety to the too probable encrease of them, thinks he has discharged his conscience in contributing his ideas and opinions to the common stock ; and is at least confident,

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fidant, that in giving utterance to his fervent desire to relieve the distressed, and to preserve the comforts of his fellow creatures, the community to which he belongs cannot be injured, if it be not benefited. He belongs to no party, whose views he wishes to support; he has no spleen to gratify,—no disappointment to complain of,—and no private interests, which he seeks in this way to promote.

The urgent distress of the time, and to which the attention of every thinking man in the country is immediately directed, is the scantiness of supply, and the high price, of provisions.

The question is not decided in every man's mind. Whether this alarming situation arises from real scarcity, or from wicked and interested monopoly. As the intention of this address is to call forth the hearty and rational endeavours of the people to obviate the evil, or to render it more supportable, and not to inflame murmurs and discontent, it will be necessary to employ a few reflections upon this important question.

To prevent altogether the monopoly even of the necessaries of life in a commercial country, however desirable it may be to the general comfort of the people,

people, will be found in practice to be utterly impossible. Wealth gives the power of speculation; speculation has in view rapid and inordinate aggrandizement; and perhaps, constituted as we are, it is too much to expect of mankind that they should voluntarily abstain from these tempting opportunities. The scarcity, or short supply, of the market is the golden harvest of the speculator, and he will naturally push the accident of the time to its utmost extent in his favour. The minds of men of this description are contracted within a very narrow compass, and flow in very shallow depths;—they seldom are more enlarged and expanded than to grasp at the co-acervation of wealth, and have little of that sensibility which keeps them alive to the interests of their fellow creatures while they are pursuing their own private emolument. Commercial experience justifies us in supposing that they will carry their articles to the most profitable market;—even though that market should be found amongst our enemies, and should be at the expence of our neighbours and our countrymen. It is the duty of the legislature, as the guardians of the welfare of the whole community, to counteract these malignant effects of human avarice by the interposition of strict and salutary laws. The legislature of no country has discharged this duty with more wisdom than our own. Every salutary provi-

sion is made against exportation, either for the supply of our enemies, or to the diminution of our own stock after the article exceeds the fair price of plenty. —Nor has it been suggested that there has been any want of vigilance or promptness in the executive government in carrying these provisions into effect. After all however the cunning of individuals sharpened by avarice beyond their natural ingenuity, will find means in some instances to evade the laws however strictly guarded both in their letter and execution. From a coast of such extent, and through channels so numerous as the extended commerce of this country affords, the most sleepless vigilance will be eluded; and the risque of punishment, and all the hazards and delay of circuitous conveyance, will be more than balanced by the advantages of success.

From these observations it may fairly be inferred, That if a monopoly did, or does, exist for the purposes of exportation, no imputation can attach either to the legislature or to the executive government; and that in all probability under such precautions, and against such pains and penalties, no exportation to an amount large enough to produce the present evils can possibly have taken place. Admitting however that such an exportation ever did exist, it can hardly be contended that this is the case at present;

sent ; unless it be supposed that large and numerous stores still remain untouched in the country. Would to God such a supposition could be supported ! because then we should have a reasonable expectation that the good sense and energies of government, called forth by the necessities of the people, would shield us from every apprehension of scarcity. Where however is such accumulation of stores to be found ? If there be a sufficient quantity of bread corn for example in the country, it would be impossible to conceal the fact ; because grain is of so bulky a nature, and requires so much room for it's preservation from heat, decay, and vermin, that it is an absolute impossibility to secrete or conceal such a quantity as would even in a trifling degree affect the consumption. It is to be feared it is too plain a truth all over the country that the barns and stacks of the *Farmer* contain no reserve of wheat, or at least a very inconsiderable one, either threshed or unthreshed. It is not in the granaries of the *Corndealers* that the hoard is to be found ; because in the first place their interest is entirely adverse to their withholding it from market, the price of wheat being such at this time as to afford them more advantage than they can expect by holding it back, considering the risque of decay and vermin, the possibility of the market being lowered by foreign supplies, and the well grounded ap-

prehension of popular resentment. Nor does the monopoly exist with the *Millers* or *Mealmen*; for it is a well known fact, that the great market for domestic consumption in Mark-Lane is thronged by persons of this description from every part of the country, whose faces were never seen there before, and who are brought there by an inability to supply their own customers by any other means.—Neither does the evil lie with the *Bakers*, who have not the means of holding up any large quantity of corn,—who, in the metropolis at least, are undoubtedly carrying on their trade at this time to a loss,—and who find such difficulty in procuring flour for their regular customers, that they are unable to supply any persons who are not in the constant habits of dealing with them.

Another and very conclusive argument against there being any monopoly, for the purposes of exportation at least, is this, That wheat bears full as high a price in the central parts of the kingdom, as it does in any of the maritime counties.

In making these observations, while it is intended to assist the public in forming a just opinion of the quantity of bread corn in hand, it is not intended to deny that in some few and local cases the interested views of individuals may give a temporary aggrava-
tion

tion to the real unavoidable evil. Such instances however are few and partial, and can have no effect upon the general price or consumption. In particular districts the Miller or Mealman may buy up grain to make his own price; or the grower may hold it back till it arrives at some standard he may have thought proper to fix. But wretched indeed must be the relaxation of duty in the magistrates of that district, who do not find early means to counteract the effects of an avarice, which both virtue and prudence so strongly oppose.

Let it also be observed that in speaking of the short quantity of wheat in hand it is not intended to assert that every farm-yard, and every granary, in the kingdom is exhausted. Most melancholy indeed would be our prospect were this the case. Instead of reproaching those whose stores are not yet brought to market, the great cause of alarm is that enough is not still reserved. In a time of dearth our resentment thoughtlessly kindles against every man who retains but a load of wheat in his barn; and the fury of the poor is with difficulty restrained. But in fact the least reflection would convince us that every unthreshed wheat rick, and every untouched granary is a treasure of hope; and that the man, whose circumstances has enabled him to keep back a portion of his

his corn is a benefactor and not an enemy, of the poor. The different degrees of capital amongst the occupiers of land obliging them to bring to market, or enabling them to retain, their produce, occasions the gradual and constant supply of the market till harvest again returns. One set of Farmers are obliged to thresh out, and offer their wheat for sale before Christmas. In proportion to their respective necessities, either to pay their rent, to buy stock, or seed, or to pay their labourers at the succeeding hay-time and harvest, the corn is gradually brought forth in a uniform and sufficient supply (if there be in reality enough for the supply,) throughout the successive seasons of the year. A few very opulent farmers are enabled to reserve their crops till harvest is past. This is not a monopoly, by which is to be understood buying up the commodities of others to the injury of the public; it is merely the reservation of a man's own store; and salutary in it's effect upon the community by preventing the new corn from being too early consumed, and thereby keeping up an equal fair price throughout the year: and it is likewise our security and dependance to supply, and to prevent the calamity of, any deficiency in the last harvest. Such resources it is too much to be feared are not very plentiful at the present time; let not then the vengeance of the poor be exercised against that remain-
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ing stock which is our best hope ; but let their patience assist in husbanding our stores ; and let them reflect that it is better to be supplied with what our necessities require at a high price, than to starve for want of any supply at all. In times of scarcity and dearth the *passions* are more generally called forth, than the *reason* of mankind. Monopoly is a term to which their resentment quickly resorts ; and their judgment is but little employed in enquiring into the nature, the practicability, and the extent of it. On the subject of the monopoly of corn an extract is subjoined from one of the most laborious, impartial, and valuable treatises on the corn trade and corn laws, which has ever been published *. After numerous accounts and estimates the author adds the following remark : “ From these accounts and estimates it appears, that we depend more *immediately* than most men imagine for our daily bread on Providence, whose gifts are so equally and regularly dealt out, that it very rarely happens, notwithstanding the uncertainty of the seasons, on which the whole in appearance so much depends, that the annual produce of the earth is not equal to the necessary support and wants of man, pro-

* It is to be found in a work entitled “ Three Tracts on the Corn Trade and Corn Laws,” sold by J. Brotherton, and published in 1766.

“ viding

“ viding he is not wanting on his part to endeavour
 “ to obtain it by a due application to that labour to
 “ which he was at first condemned, and from which
 “ he never can be dispensed with; for let him exert
 “ all his skill and abilities to the utmost, it seems
 “ impossible for him to obtain so great a surplus, as
 “ to have it in his power to forbear to till the
 “ ground, even for one year; but that he must
 “ throughout his life subsist by a continual labour
 “ and constant dependance on him, who hath pro-
 “ mised that seed-time and harvest shall never fail.”

Thus then the monopoly of corn appears to be so very improbable, that such an idea ought not to be entertained, much less acted upon, without very full and convincing evidence,

It may fairly then be assumed that the present scarcity of corn is real, and not artificial; but to establish the fact still more strongly let us enquire into the causes which have combined to produce the situation at which we are so justly alarmed.

1. It is well known to the corn factors that the whole stock of the bread corn of last year was so nearly consumed before harvest, that had not the harvest been remarkably early we should at that time have felt a much severer temporary scarcity than we do

do at present. Instead therefore of the markets being supplied after harvest in part with *old* wheat, *new* wheat only was brought forward; and that three weeks or a month* earlier than the average time of harvest. Considerably more of the new wheat therefore was consumed by Christmas for example, than in former years; so that unless the crops were so abundant as to be equal to this premature consumption, a deficiency must necessarily be felt towards the approach of the following harvest.

2. Unhappily however the yielding of the last crops was by no means equal to the sanguine expectations which were formed of them. Throughout the southern, eastern, and midland counties, the ear, which looked very promising to the eye, did not yield much more than four fifths of corn, all the upper part of the ear being merely chaff. This is accounted for by an unexpected frost in the middle of May, when the wheat was in bloom, which cut off the upper part of the bloom which was exposed, but did not injure the lower part of it which was more sheltered. The northern counties were not affected by this accident, the wheat not being in so forward a state.

* This is nearly one twelfth of the whole consumption!!

3. The

3. The premature consumption then of one crop, and the failure of the succeeding crop, will sufficiently account for a scarcity towards the close of the year without having recourse to the fiction of a monopoly. The necessary very large demands for our navy and armies must be supposed to hasten and encrease the misfortune. But this, though it doubtless adds to other causes, would not alone produce any inconvenience; because we know, that during the last war, no scarcity was felt; and even towards the close of it, long and expensive as it had been, wheat was remarkably cheap and plentiful, being at the average in the year 1779, 33s. 8d. per quarter*.

Our

* By hastily ascribing public misfortunes to untrue causes, still more grievous calamities are produced. To shew that the dearness of wheat cannot fairly be considered as a consequence of war, the average price of wheat during the two last wars is subjoined:

| | £ | s | d | |
|-----------------------|---|----|----|----------------|
| In the year 1756..... | 2 | 5 | 3 | } per quarter. |
| 1757..... | 3 | 0 | 0 | |
| 1758..... | 2 | 10 | 0 | |
| 1759..... | 1 | 19 | 10 | |
| 1760..... | 1 | 16 | 6 | |
| 1761..... | 1 | 10 | 3 | |
| 1762..... | 1 | 19 | 0 | |

The peace was concluded February, 1763; so that wheat sunk, rather than rose in value with the continuance of the war. During the last war the prices were as follows: viz.

In

Our next observations must be applied to the high and unprecedented price of butcher's meat. The public opinion does not seem to be made up as to the causes of this additional calamity. The fact seems to be, that the short supply of stock at the present time may be very well accounted for by the circumstances of the last winter. The long continuance of the frost, and the very high price of fodder, made stock of every kind too burdensome for the middling Grazier to support. Towards the conclusion of the winter therefore, the lean cattle of all kinds were sent to market, which used to be kept back till the summer. This evil would not have arisen to the very serious inconvenience which we now feel, if the severe winter had happily been succeeded by a mild and favourable spring. The turnips however having been destroyed by the frost, and the grass being checked by the coldness and backwardness of the spring, it became necessary to fodder the cattle at a

| | £ | s | d | |
|-----------------------|---|----|----|----------------|
| In the year 1775..... | 2 | 8 | 4 | } per quarter. |
| 1776..... | 1 | 18 | 2 | |
| 1777..... | 2 | 5 | 6 | |
| 1778..... | 2 | 2 | 0 | |
| 1779..... | 1 | 13 | 8 | |
| 1780..... | 1 | 15 | 8 | |
| 1781..... | 2 | 4 | 8 | |
| 1782..... | 2 | 7 | 10 | |

time

time when in the usual course of seasons they should have been fattening upon abundant pasturage; so that Graziers who had struggled through the winter in hopes of a favourable spring were still obliged to sell off their lean stock, and prematurely supply the market with that provision, which should have been reserved for the summer and autumn consumption. The toll of Smithfield-Market affords a strong confirmation of this statement. By this it appears that the quantity of stock brought to market in the months of February, March, and April, 1795, exceed the quantity in the same months in the year 1794 by many thousand head both of beasts and sheep. It is too much to be feared that the Graziers allured by the present enormous prices of meat still supply the market with stock that ought not to be brought forwards for two or three months to come; the evil of which must be most severely felt at no great distance of time. Independantly of this unfortunate anticipation of the supply, it will be readily perceived what an immense loss of weight of animal food has been sustained by the slaughter of cattle before they had attained their proper condition. Suppose 15,000 neat cattle to have been brought to market wanting ten stone each of their usual weight, there will then be a deficiency of 150,000 stone weight of beef. Apply this calculation in a due proportion

proportion to the numbers of sheep, which were hastened to the slaughter-house by necessity, and we can be at no loss to account for the present high price of butcher's meat. Nevertheless it must be confessed that the real scarcity is much aggravated by other means. The victualling of our armaments will undoubtedly encrease our demands, and make the scanty supply of our markets more severely felt. Nor can it be concealed that the public suspicion of mal-practice is much better founded in the dealing out the supply of animal food, than of bread corn. As however the author of this Address wishes not to excite popular resentment against any class of men, which must always necessarily aggravate rather than alleviate an evil, and in a case where perhaps his own information will not warrant such an intemperate exercise of zeal, he declines pointing out the scene of these nefarious practices, recommending it to the vigilant attention of government. Both justice and benevolence however require from him that he should expose what he conceives to be an injurious error, and disarm the resentment of the poor against those whom he conscientiously believes to be friendly disposed towards them. While he chuses not to hazard an assertion *where* the evil exists, so there can be no reason to withhold his opinion where it does *not* exist. In seasons of scarcity the immediate vender

der of the article is the first object of popular fury : whereas nothing can be more clear than that his sale must be larger, and his profits greater when the commodity is more reasonable, and the consumption more considerable. He himself buys the article often more than proportionably dear. Thus in the present instance the retail Butcher, who is often threatened, and sleeps in apprehension, buys his meat dearer in proportion than he ventures to charge it to his customers. Not a retail Butcher in the metropolis carries on his trade at this time with a profit ; many of them with a loss. Were they to charge the same profit as in times of plenty and cheapness, they would either have no customers, or provoke a clamour which might in a less vigorous government bury their property in ruins.

As it appears then that our present distressing situation with respect to provisions is not occasioned either by the neglect, or by the improvidence of government, our feelings and our conduct upon this emergency must be wholly divested of party or politics. And as the scarcity is undoubtedly real, and not produced by the fraudulent arts of those, who deal in the different articles of provision, every man throughout the nation is bound to unite hand and heart to make it less grievous.

Under

Under these circumstances the public naturally look up to government for prompt and salutary regulations; but let us recollect how little government can do without the co-operation of the public in their own domestic œconomy. Every zealous friend to the constitution of this country will resort with great reluctance to any innovation upon it's principles. Hardly any public measures can be adopted to force provisions to market, and to regulate their price, without an arbitrary and violent exertion of power. The spring of industry is the opportunity of employing it to the best advantage; and one of the most valuable blessings of a free constitution is to secure to every man the disposal of his own property. Every violation of this rule must generally speaking be unjust; and experience seems to shew that in times of exigency it is also impolitic. In France restrictions upon agriculture were thought necessary for the public good; and to ensure a fair and reasonable price the law of the Maximum was enacted and enforced. Effects however were produced the very opposite of those which were expected, and it became expedient to abolish this violent and oppressive law. Regulations of this kind generally fail of their effect, for however well their provisions may be defined, and however they may be guarded by penalties, such is the fertility of human invention when

excited by interest and avarice, that some means are almost always devised to evade them. An arbitrary proceeding for the public benefit, may be forced into precedent in another case for the public injury. Upon this account therefore the resort to such measures should be abstained from till the last necessity. Not that it is intended to assert, that no interference of government can either be salutary or desirable; on the contrary it is proposed to suggest in the course of this Address some regulations and attentions on the part of the executive government, which it is presumed will be found perfectly compatible with the spirit of our invaluable constitution.

The people at large are called upon each in his private capacity to contribute his share to alleviate the calamity which we now deplore,—the opulent recollecting that wealth cannot purchase what is not to be sold; and the poor bearing in mind that complaint and insurrection cannot procure what absolutely does not exist. From the opulent of every rank a most rigid, and (if the phrase may be used,) even parsimonious œconomy is required in the consumption of bread corn in their families. Every principle of self preservation and public duty, every obligation as men and citizens, every consideration which appeals to the heart calls upon them to abate
for

for the present only, in the article of provisions, expences which are incurred merely for the purposes of dissipation, which have no connection with the necessities, and God knows not much with the comforts, of life. If we would guard against the dreadful calamity of famine, or what is nearly as bad, depredation, insurrection and anarchy, in short against all the evils with which despair threatens property, subordination, and security, we must content ourselves with sufficiency without waste,—with a plain, yet substantial, board without vanity, frippery, or elegance. The author means not here to enter into a declamation against the follies of the age, or the propriety and necessity of reformation of manners. It is true that his opinion on this head has long since been fixed, which he is never backward in urging in its proper place. He means here only to recommend a temporary reform, a self-denial at the moment, not to correct the moral, but to alleviate the physical, distresses of the times. Nor in his zeal for the general good does he lose sight of the injury which individuals may sustain in their callings; but feels for them all which is compatible with a sense of general preservation. He proposes no wanton system of ruin; but merely what the exigency of the times imperiously demands, and what will preserve even the traders alluded to from a much greater calamity.

Let us now consider the different instances in which the more opulent may exercise to most advantage the rigid œconomy, which is now required. The groundwork of all our expedients is, that there being not the usual supply of bread corn for the whole body of the people, they, who have the means of purchasing other articles of food, must abstain from this, for the sake of those who have this only means of sustenance in their power.

I. It is proposed that the more opulent individuals of all classes should restrain the use of bread in their own families to the lowest possible consumption. A strict adherence to this regulation in the parlour it may reasonably be expected would be cheerfully acquiesced with in the kitchen, if servants have the least feeling for that degree of their fellow creatures from which they are so little removed. It is not intended by this to encrease the consumption of meat, which at it's present price and scarcity would be no alleviation of the evil. On the contrary the place of bread may be well supplied by an encreased use of vegetables, to which the season of the year is particularly favourable. And perhaps in the use of vegetables for the table, it would be well to avoid the consumption of potatoes, confining ourselves to the other kinds with which the season abounds. This

will make a great accumulation of the winter store, and will then be a cheap and plentiful comfort for the poor. It should likewise be a great object with families to encrease the consumption of fish, many kinds of which are at present so reasonable and abundant, that a very great saving may be made in the article of butcher's meat, and that too at the expence of no abstinence or self denial, it being an article of luxury.

2. There should be but one kind of bread used for every description of persons, and that the coarsest ;— for the greater the quantity of the coats of the wheat mixed with the flour of course it will be the more bulky ; and probably not the less nutritive, because we know that bran alone has a fattening quality. To shew the advantage which the public would derive from using only one kind of bread, made of the whole meal, the following statement is given. The weekly consumption of flour within the bills of mortality is 22,500 sacks ; each weighing 280lb. Now 2520lbs of wheat-meal produces in the present way of making bread seven sacks of eatable flour, each weighing 280lbs, making only 1960lbs, or about one fifth less than the original weight. The common practice is in the following proportion, viz.

5 $\frac{1}{2}$ Sacks

| | lbs. | | lbs. |
|-----------------------|--------|---|------|
| 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ Sacks | at 280 | — | 1540 |
| $\frac{1}{2}$ Seconds | — 280 | — | 140 |
| 1 Coarse | — 280 | — | 280 |

1960

Governor Pownall recommended that only one sort of bread should be made, allowing three fourths of the sack for eatable flour; this would produce only 1890 lbs. The author now proposes to work up the *whole* of the meal, which would afford a moist, pleasant, and wholesome bread, and which would probably give in weight more than the original quantity, viz. 2520lbs, making an addition of more than one fifth.

3. Puddings, pies, and confectionary of every kind should be wholly laid aside.

4. As it should be a leading object with us all to prevent the manufacture of bread corn into any other article than bread, so few sacrifices to the common cause will be more adviseable than the temporary disuse of hair powder. This should more especially be the voluntary tribute of the public, because the state having just received the advantage of the tax imposed upon it can with the less propriety recommend the discontinuance of it. It will probably be said that
powder

powder is made of wheat so inferior in quality as not to be used in bread. This may be the case in general; but it is much to be feared that in the present crisis we must not be very delicate with respect to *quality*, but thankful if we find a sufficient *quantity*. Wheat of inferior quality may at this time be ground to great advantage with better wheat. The corn expected from abroad will in general bear no comparison with that of our own growth; and yet we should all feel very considerable pleasure to be assured that a sufficient quantity of it were likely to arrive as the supply may be wanted. It will also be said that the consumption of wheat in hair powder bears a very trifling proportion to the regular demands for bread. This may be said of all the other articles in which a saving is proposed; yet the whole combined may make an immense difference in a time of real scarcity. The consumption however of wheat, in this article, (allowing the quality to be inferior,) is of considerably more importance than is generally imagined, which will appear from the following statement. It takes more than two pounds of meal to make one pound of starch; the average consumption of powder with both sexes is one pound a week, the full allowance of bread to each person is one pound per day; one pound of flour makes more than a pound of bread;—at a very under calculation 300,000 persons have

have taken out their licence to wear powder,—the number of the military and of other persons exempted in the act of parliament will at least amount to 50,000 more. Thus then by wholly leaving off the use of hair-powder 700,000 persons would be fed with a full allowance of bread one day in seven. This estimate is made at an extremely low rate; for 63lbs. of meal makes but 24lbs. of starch;—14lbs. of flour must by the affize of bread settled by the lord mayor make 17lbs. 6 oz. of bread;—the average consumption of powder is also greater than at the rate here taken;—the number of persons who wear powder probably exceeds that which is here given;—and the consumption of bread without waste of one person with another is less than 1lb. per day. So that bread for 100,000 persons more may be added without any exaggeration.

5. After all however which can be effected by the virtuous and rigid œconomy of individuals, the supply of corn will still be so scanty, and the price consequently so high, as to be above the reach of the poor at the present rate of labour. Here then the benevolence of the more opulent, and that sympathy which the beneficent Parent of the universe has implanted in our nature, is irresistibly appealed to, to enter into liberal subscriptions to furnish the poor
with

with this essential article of their subsistence at a reasonable price. In hard seasons this has been the humane practice of most of the parishes in this country. God knows it is a season hard enough to the poor! and when they are impressed with a conviction that the assiduous labours of government, and the heads and hearts of all good men throughout the nation are employed in plans for their relief, surely they will be thankful for the good which is intended them, and bear the calamities of the times without murmuring. It will not be necessary to lower the price of bread and flour for their use to the standard adopted in the severity of the winter, because then there being little opportunity of labour there were little wages; whereas at present the labourer has the advantage of gaining his full earnings, and turning his industry to the utmost account. To those, who are less open to the appeals of feeling,—and would coldly object that in the present times they are too frequently called upon for subscriptions, it may be answered that in the first place the temporary reduction of frivolous expences will enlarge their means of contributing to others;—that in the next place the preservation of domestic quiet demands this exercise of liberality; and that there is as much reason to tax ourselves upon the present occasion for our internal peace, as there is to be taxed by the legislature for our

our defence from external foes. In this part of his subject the author particularly addresses himself to the higher orders, whose stations in the constitution of this country he heartily hopes they may long deserve to maintain. They cannot be insensible that they must stand or fall with the fabric of the present constitution, it ought not therefore to be doubted but that in the time of our necessity they will eagerly contribute their full proportion to preserve its prosperity and happiness. Let not the virtue and the burden of providing subsistence for the mass of the country rest wholly with the middle classes of the people; and let them not complain, that while *they* are patriotically denying themselves their accustomed gratifications, the higher ranks are indisposed to abridge themselves of any luxuries, and to exercise any benevolence. There can be no doubt but that at this arduous period we shall have reason to applaud and reverence the orders of aristocracy, and shall acknowledge them to be indeed the Corinthian capitals which at once adorn and support our constitution. We shall find them foremost in every subscription, and most rigid in every domestic regulation which may be thought necessary to husband our supplies. The necessity of a parsimonious consumption of bread corn in families cannot be too strongly, nor too frequently urged. They, who have little opportunity

portunity of considering may easily fall into an error, which were it general would soon become fatal. They may conceive it unnecessary to diminish their own consumption, while the poor are supplied at a low rate by subscription. But it is of the utmost importance that they should recollect that though subscriptions may relieve the pressure of the grievance to the poor, it cannot encrease the quantity of the commodity we stand in need of; and should the commodity actually fail, the benevolence of subscriptions will be in vain. To enforce the assertion that no consideration whatever should relax the strictness of our domestic regulations, it may not be unprofitable to take a general view of the consumption of the country, by which we may form some opinion of the extent of our resources. The weekly consumption of flour in London and its vicinity is 22,500 sacks, each weighing 280lbs. The weekly consumption of Great Britain is about 180,000 sacks.—Now if British wheat be actually exhausted, (and it is apprehended that the stock in hand is very small,) can we expect any importation large enough to supply the immense deficiency? It is mentioned with exultation that 80,000 quarters of wheat are expected from Dantzick: be it so; this will about supply the island with bread for three days. Very large importations will doubtless arrive from other places;

places; but not to the extent of the consumption stated above. The quality of the wheat expected should also be taken into the account. Some of it, particularly of Polish growth, is extremely fine; but a great deal of it has been greatly injured by having been kept too long; some will be absolutely useless; and much will be fit only to grind with better wheat, or to mix with better flour. We should likewise be guarded against the delusion of a large temporary supply. The wind, being in a favourable quarter for a length of time, may bring into our ports at once the greater part of the whole stock we expect; and if we presume upon this momentary abundance what will become of us afterwards? We should also recollect the great length of time for which we must wholly depend upon importation. The ensuing harvest will be later than any within the memory of the oldest man living. Last year new wheat was sold in Mark-Lane in the middle of August; and none can this year be expected much before Michaelmas. While we are upon this head, it will not be impertinent to recommend a continuance of our œconomy for some time after harvest, even should the goodness of Providence bestow on us abundant crops: for till we can accumulate some store beforehand,—till we can prevent the crops of one harvest from being exhausted before another is got
in,

in, wheat cannot fall to its due and reasonable price.

Having said thus much on the line of conduct, which it is expedient for the public to adopt in the article of bread corn; our attention is next called to the equally important consideration of butcher's meat. The scarcity of this necessary of life is not likely to be lessened, and must grievously encrease unless there be great prudence on the part of the consumer. The reader is requested to call to mind the facts, which have been stated in the course of this Address, respecting the premature slaughter of lean stock. This evil (which there is no known provision to remedy,) is much aggravated, as far as it concerns sheep, by the unfortunate severity of the weather at the time of shearing. The losses, which have been sustained by this calamity are very considerable, and will be severely felt next year. It has likewise been supposed that the number of sheep in this country has of late years been gradually decreasing. The vast encrease of horses will in a great degree account for this alarming circumstance. The quantity of pasture land is not enlarged; pasturage has always carried as much stock as it can support; if therefore there be an encrease of one kind of stock, there must necessarily be a decrease of another. The facility of travel-
ling,

ling, the excellent turnpike roads which have been, and are, daily making in every direction throughout the island, account for an enormous encrease of horses. Every horse consumes at the very lowest calculation the produce of three acres of land. This land therefore is lost to the sustenance of man, whether it be by producing bread corn, or feeding cattle. Consider then the almost incalculable encrease of horses of late years, and we can have no difficulty in supposing that a decrease of cattle must have taken place. Upon the ground then of the present high price of animal food,—upon the presumption that a very great quantity of lean stock has been, and is brought to market,—that in the article of sheep particularly we shall feel a great inconvenience next year,—and that in fact the rearing of stock is in general diminished, some instances of domestic regulation on this head are very earnestly urged.

1. The most effectual service which can be rendered by individuals is by abstaining wholly from the use of young meats. Depraved indeed must we be, and improvident even to the forgetfulness of self preservation, if we cannot for a time sacrifice the luxuries of lamb, veal, and pigs.—No man can state a reasonable expectation of a considerable abatement in the price of butcher's meat under the present circumstances,

stances,—no man can deny the probability of an approaching time when even the present supply must fall off.—Nothing therefore can restore plenty but the difuse of the younger stock. Let every man of the least reflection consider that were every calf, lamb, and pig spared, till it arrived at it's full growth, what an immense change would take place in the supply, and consequently in the price of meat. If he feels the difficulties of the crisis, and makes the reflection here suggested, he will hardly sit down to these wasteful luxuries, with a keen appetite, or a quiet conscience. It may be objected, where will pasturage be found for this encrease of cattle? It is denied that there will be any encrease. A temporary abstinence from the consumption of young stock is required only till the deficiency of full grown stock is filled up. As soon as the country every where affords that number of stock, which is necessary for the due and regular supply of a reasonable market, we may then return to our accustomed habits of eating young meats. In a time of war, or of scarcity, the encrease of swine is particularly worthy the public attention. Swine flesh takes salt better than other meats, and is therefore the best sea store for our navy and trading vessels; it saves the consumption of neat cattle, which is immense in time of war; and in seasons of scarcity the grievance will not be very severely

severely felt while there is plenty of bacon and vegetables to be procured at an easy rate. We shall readily perceive to what account our abstinence from this kind of young food would turn, when we consider that a sow farrows at least twice a year, and that upon a very low calculation each sow produces upon an average twenty pigs in a year.

2. The superfluous consumption of full grown meats should likewise be a subject of domestic regulation. Let it be recollected that if from the present period no more young stock is slaughtered, it will still be a considerable time before we can reap the benefit of so salutary a measure. In the mean time therefore oeconomy cannot be too rigidly observed in our mode, particularly of dressing our provisions. Soups, stews, and similar dishes may be very compatible with abundance, but do not well accord with scarcity. Under this head many expensive preparations at the higher tables may be included. A disuse of these things is recommended, not merely on account of the unnecessary waste; but because they engross a wholesome and a pleasant food which ought to be appropriate to the poor. Were the coarser sort of meat banished from the tables of the opulent, animal food would be infinitely more within the reach of the labouring classes of people.

In

In speaking of an extravagant or unnecessary consumption of animal food few persons will be inclined to forget the very invidious use of it for dogs kept for field sports. In many of the villages this practice bears very hard upon the industrious poor; and seems to be a cruel mockery of that humble state, to which the Creator of the universe has destined a very large proportion of mankind. No man is more friendly to field sports, as they tend to invigorate the constitution, than the author of this Address: but for God's sake let us not pursue our exercise at the expence of our fellow creatures,—and sustain an animal with *that* food, which a being of the same rank in the universe with ourselves requires for his own nourishment. An Englishman, when he reflects that his dog interferes with the meat of a fellow subject of this blessed constitution, must feel a very uneasy sensation about his heart.

The next article which comes under our consideration is the conduct, which it may be presumed ought to be adopted by Government upon this most solemn occasion. This indeed is a topic, which the author enters upon with great diffidence, not from any undue respect to high names, but from the extreme difficulty of the subject. It requires talents, reflection, and information of no common

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kind

kind to institute regulations, which, both in precedent and operation, will be as salutary as the case requires. Upon the present emergency the executive government seem to have employed unwearied pains in investigating the nature and the possible remedies of our present distresses; and if they have directed no very strong and powerful measures, the fault is not in their inattention, but in the almost insuperable difficulties which impede their resolutions. Whatever therefore is here suggested, is not dogmatically laid down; but respectfully offered to the consideration of a government, which is anxiously desirous of promoting the happiness of all who are protected under it.

The first and most pressing object of their attention will be the dealing out the indispensable articles of bread and flour to the labouring classes of the community at a rate, which will come within their means of purchasing. For this purpose the author has strenuously recommended to the public at large immediate voluntary subscriptions. There can be no doubt but that in opulent parishes this mode of relief will be liberally bestowed. But how many parishes are there, which are crowded with poor, and wherein few wealthy persons reside! It cannot be expected that voluntary contributions will be made in such

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situations

situations to answer any effectual purposes. In the remote parts of the country many of the villages consist principally of tenants at rack rents;—voluntary relief will hardly be expected in these cases. It is true that the last resource remains for the poor in their extremity, viz. the regular relief of their respective parishes; but surely it would be both cruel to those who were maintained, and to those who were assessed for their maintenance, to drive men to this necessity who are sincerely desirous to subsist themselves and their families by their own industry. Such a measure would be particularly oppressive in such parishes as take advantage of the act of 9 G. which enables parish officers to exclude all persons from relief, who refuse to be lodged and maintained in the workhouse,—and enables them likewise to farm out the poor. Something then seems to be necessary in aid of voluntary contributions. It is therefore submitted to the wisdom of government, whether the respective parishes throughout the kingdom might not be obliged to sell to the poor resident in them, flour and bread, in quantities proportionate to their families, at a certain price for three months; giving to the poor, whom parish officers will not so relieve, such redress by a magistrate as is directed by the act 9 G. c. 7. § 1. It will not be necessary to lower the price of bread and flour to the average of

the most favourable seasons; it may still bear some proportion to the present dearth. Such a measure would seem to be equally advantageous to the inhabitants paying rates, and to those requiring assistance; for the first would exonerate themselves from more than three fourths of the expence of maintaining the poor in their workhouses,—and the latter would be left at liberty to pursue their labour agreeably to their usual habits. Some effectual measures of this kind are the more necessary, because there cannot be any ground to suppose that wheat will be more reasonable before harvest. On the last market day* (Monday, July 13,) very sanguine expectations were formed of a large supply of foreign wheat, and consequently of a price, if not reduced, yet not encreased. Notwithstanding this, wheat encreased upon the average 8s. per quarter since the preceding Monday. The quantity and prices were as follows: viz.

* In speaking of the market in Mark-Lane it would be unjust to withhold from the cornfactors that tribute of approbation to which they are so well entitled. In a season critical and distressing beyond any parallel within their recollection, they have conducted themselves on such honourable principles of trade, and with so patriotic a view to the interest of the community, as justly entitles them to the thanks of their countrymen.

qrs.

| qrs. of wheat. | | | | s. |
|----------------|---|----|---|----|
| 493 | — | at | — | 98 |
| 28 | — | — | — | 94 |
| 4210 | — | — | — | 88 |
| 850 | — | — | — | 86 |
| 230 | — | — | — | 85 |
| 290 | — | — | — | 84 |
| 200 | — | — | — | 83 |
| 1220 | — | — | — | 82 |

7521 qrs. average 87s. 1d. per quarter.

2. The next great object of government will be to institute effectual measures to lengthen out the stock of corn in hand, and that which is expected from abroad, till the ensuing harvest shall be got in. This can only be done as far as respect public measures by enforcing the *sole* manufacture of that kind of bread which will go the farthest. No official regulations of government have at present been issued. But resolutions for their own private conduct have appeared in the public papers. No doubt these have been well intended, and so far are laudable. But there is much reason to fear, that in the first place the bread recommended will not answer the purpose of giving the largest produce of the wheat; and admitting that it will, there is also reason to fear, that the Bakers will not attend to a mere *recommendation*,
how

how high soever the names may be by which it is sanctioned. The bread which the privy council have resolved to adopt for their private use is that recommended by Governor Pownall, and is directed to be made in an Act 13 G. 3. c. 62. By a reference to a former part of this Address, where coarse bread is proposed, it is stated that in the common practice 2520lbs. or 5 qrs. of wheat meal produces 1960lbs. of eatable flour;—in the mode of making bread directed by the above act of parliament, and now adopted by the privy council, the same quantity of wheat meal is only required to produce 1890lbs; so that in the kind of bread now proposed 70lbs weight or one 36th part of the whole is lost to the public. Beside which the manufacturer will sustain a loss of 5 per cent. without the least benefit accruing to the community; because the quantity of wheat flour above mentioned, ground according to the present practice, will bring him 20l.;—if ground to produce the bread recommended it will only bring him 19l. Thus then by adopting the bread, called in the Advertisement “Standard wheaten bread,” and directed by the above act, both the public and the manufacturer will sustain a loss.

But admitting the recommendation of this bread to be as judicious, as it is doubtless well intended,
what

what steps are taken to enforce the baking this bread only ? While two kinds of bread can be made, the majority of the people will take the finer, so that the goodness of the intention will be in this way defeated. Again, many Bakers will not depart from their usual customs ; and many persons, who are well inclined, either know not where to find the bread in question, or do not chuse to discontinue tradesmen whom they have long dealt with. But to meet the matter fairly ; if there be in reality the dreaded scarcity, will it not be expedient to enforce for a given time the whole manufacture of the wheat into bread, as has been before mentioned, viz. making the whole 2520lbs of wheat flour into bread ? Let us carry our enquiries still farther : A reserve of barley is made in the country by stopping for a time the distilleries. This reserve is made, it is supposed, in case we are driven to the last necessity by the total failure of wheat. If this last necessity be in any probable prospect, why should we not lengthen out our stock of wheat as much as possible by mixing with it a proportion of barley ; for surely wheat and barley mixed will be better than barley bread only ? Why should we not take some advantage also of oatmeal ? The only evils which can arise by converting oats to this use, will be a diminution in the rapidity of travelling, and the pride of keeping horses in high condition.

These

These are subjects for the consideration of government; and if the public is to derive any advantage from them it can only be by the power and authority with which government is invested.

3. The next subject which seems to require the attention of government is that of butcher's meat. It is unnecessary to repeat the statements on this head, which have been made in another part of the Address; but it may fairly be submitted, whether, if the public will not refrain from the consumption of young meats for a time, it may not be expedient to enforce so necessary a measure by an express law. It may be objected that the different regulations proposed above will spread a general alarm, and tend to deject the public mind. But is it not better to feel the imaginary terrors of alarm, than the real horrors of famine? and will not government recommend itself to the affections of the people, by declaring to them the important though melancholy truth early enough to prevent the deplorable consequences of it? And where will be the just cause of alarm when government holds out this manly language to the public, 'With strict œconomy and regulation there is enough for us all; but so essential is this œconomy to adapt our stock to the necessary demand, that we should hold ourselves negligent in trusting altogether

* together to the prudence of individuals throughout
 * the nation ; and therefore we exercise the paternal
 * design of all government in enforcing such mea-
 * sures as will effectually preserve us all from actual
 * distress.* *

4. It has been before stated that wheat cannot fall to a reasonable price till there is a surplus in hand even after the harvest is got in. For this reason a dear year is never succeeded by a very cheap one however plentiful the crops may be. Whether we may expect a plentiful harvest in the present year is a matter of very great doubt. The crops are sufficiently luxuriant in growth, but the season has certainly been very unfavourable to the blooming of the ear. It is unnecessary to say more upon this subject, because there is every reason to suppose that the care and foresight of government are already making pro-

* The article of fish seems to be worthy the very serious attention of government, both as it may relieve the burden of the very high price of butcher's meat, and save the consumption of it. Fish has been comparatively reasonable for some time ; but not sufficiently so to make it a comfort to the poor. Assertions have been positively and frequently made respecting the destruction of fish before it reaches the market to keep up the price. Surely it would not be impossible to ascertain which way the fact lies ; and if the charge should be true, to prevent so profligate a practice.

vision

vision by foreign contracts for the supply of any deficiency which may happen in the following year.

5. When the more pressing difficulties of the present moment are surmounted it seems to be an indispensable object of the legislature to take into their most serious consideration the state of agriculture in all its branches throughout the island. The corn laws now in force consider wheat not merely as an article of domestic food, but also of foreign merchandize; and this not so much with a view to commercial advantage, as to the encouragement of the growth of corn. For this purpose a bounty is allowed on exportation when wheat falls to a certain price. It is a very serious fact that the advantage of this species of merchandize has been lost for a great length of time, and a considerable balance has taken place against the nation. The following accounts will shew the different state of the supply of this country with bread corn in the present century.

| No. Years. | from | to | Gains. | | |
|---------------|------|--------|-----------|---|---|
| | | | £ | s | d |
| 9 — | 1697 | — 1706 | — 174,236 | 3 | 1 |
| 20 — | 1706 | — 1726 | — 349,842 | 8 | 2 |
| 20 — | 1726 | — 1746 | — 375,149 | 9 | 7 |
| 19 — | 1746 | — 1765 | — 651,079 | 9 | 7 |

(Smith's Corn Tracts, p. 137, the particulars minutely detailed pages 133, 134, 135, 136.)

Mark

Mark the difference in the next 20 years.

| No. Yrs. | from | to | Balance of Qrs. imported. | Lofs | £ | s | d |
|-------------|------|------|------------------------------|-----------|---|---|---|
| 20 | 1771 | 1791 | 793,917 | 1,806,161 | 3 | 6 | |

(Catherwood's Tables.)

If therefore such be the change of circumstances, that so far from having a surplus for exportation we depend upon foreign supplies for our own support, we are not secure even in the best of years from distress before harvest. Be the causes of this alarming deficiency what they may,—whether it arises from a less growth of wheat,—from the increased number of horses,—of population,—or of luxury, or of all combined, surely the attention of the legislature cannot be too early employed upon this important subject. The question also well deserves investigation whether or not there be a decreased number of live stock bred in the country; and if such be the fact, what are the remedies to be applied to the evil.

Thus much has been addressed to the more opulent part of the community, and to that government which superintends and protects the whole. The author will not conclude his Address without a friendly exhortation to the labouring part of his fellow subjects. In doing this he speaks to them with sincerity and truth;—as *men* he treats them with no sense

sense of inferiority; nor wishes to mislead them with false arguments and delusion. The present is a question of common sense, which all men who honestly seek for information, are equally able to understand. Would to God it were possible that none should be poor, none exposed to hardships. But that it should be so, is the dispensation of Providence, and not the fault of any government. Rich and poor there ever have been, and ever must be amidst all the changes and revolutions of governments to the end of the world. Whether the government under which we live affords in general the best protection to the poor, it is not at present necessary to examine. The present dearth of provisions has no connection whatever with politics; it arises from a real scarcity which the government, so far from wishing to encrease, does every thing that is possible to prevent. It will be evident to the meanest capacity that government can have no interest in producing a scarcity, and thereby occasioning murmurs and discontent. If government had any bad designs towards the people, if they wanted to establish tyranny and despotism, they would naturally endeavour to keep them quiet, to lull them to sleep by letting all things go on smoothly, instead of alarming them by that which gives the most fatal of all alarms, viz. the apprehension of famine. The fact is, (and every poor man may

may acquaint himself with the truth of it,) that upon the present occasion government are doing every thing in their power to make the evil of scarcity less grievous. The privy council, consisting of all the members of administration and the greatest characters in the kingdom, sit day after day with unwearied attention to devise the means of lessening our grievances. They send for every person, whom they suppose capable of giving them information, and are inclined to try every experiment which seems likely to afford relief. The highest ranks of people abstain from *luxuries*, that there may be the greater plenty of *necessaries* for the poor; and they are farther desirous of making large subscriptions, to which even persons of moderate incomes willingly contribute, that the poor may the less feel the sad burden of dearth. If these things be so, (and no man who speaks the truth can deny it,) should not the poor do their part also, instead of preventing what is well designed towards them by discontent and tumults? Let them consider, what good end can possibly be answered by what is called *rising*. In every point of view it can only make bad worse. Suppose their anger to be against a person, who keeps back his corn, only to make his advantage of the distresses of the people. Nothing doubtless can be more wicked, or deserve severer punishment; but

but surely it will be better on their own account to let him bring it to market at his own time, and in his own quantity, than to destroy that very food of which they stand in so much need. Now when the people meet in anger, they forget their own wants, and reck their vengeance by destroying that very article the scarcity of which is the cause of their rising. Thus in the tumults at Birmingham and other places, as much flour and wheat were absolutely *destroyed* as would have supplied the people who assembled for a great length of time. And even, if instead of destroying these hoards, they were distributed about, *that* would probably be consumed in waste in two or three days, which with care might have lasted a month. It is not intended by this to defend avaricious persons, who hold back their corn in a dear time; but we should never punish ourselves for the sake of being revenged of a particular culprit. Suppose again that the attack of the poor was made against government: suppose also that they succeeded, what would they obtain? why just this,—instead of there being more bread for the people, there would be none at all; and for this plain reason,—because by the attention of government, and the care of those who are concerned in the corn trade, the bread, though dear, will be made to last out till harvest: but if the government

is

is destroyed, and with it the measures which are taken to make the bread hold out,—we have then no possibility of escaping famine, and we shall have the additional mortification of knowing that we have brought it upon ourselves. Let us then always bear in mind, that we had better have *dear* bread, than *no* bread at all.

It is natural for every man who suffers, to think his own times the worst, and under this belief he is too apt to indulge despair. The author therefore in his good will to the poor and labouring people wishes to shew them from history, that there has been much harder seasons than the present, when the people actually *perished by famine*, a misery unknown (thank God!) to our countrymen in modern times. An account is here given of the distresses of the people of England in former times in a period of about one hundred and twenty years, viz. during the 14th and 15th centuries.

Year.

1315. Wheat was sold for forty shillings a quarter, as much as eight pounds now ; and a murrain destroyed the cattle.

1316. The famine continuing, the poor were forced
to

to eat horse flesh and dogs. Wheat was sold for near three pounds a bushel, and the mortality raged as violently as in the preceding year.

1330. The rains were so violent, that the harvest did not begin till Michaelmas.

1335. The rains were so fatal, that the corn was spoiled; a dearth ensued, wheat sold at forty shillings a quarter, as much as twenty shillings a bushel now; and the cattle was destroyed by a murrain.

1348. It rained from Midsummer to Christmas, so that there was not one day or night dry together. This wet season caused great floods, and a pestilence, which raged a whole year. The earth was at the same time barren; and even the sea did not produce such plenty of fish as formerly.

1353 Was remarkable for the scarcity of corn and provisions in England and France, occasioned by a great drought. It was called the *dear summer*. Rye was bought out of Zealand
to

to support the poor, who otherwise must have perished for want of sustenance.

1438. There was a great dearth, so that in many places, they made bread of fern roots, and ivy berries.

(Trusler's Chronology.)

To come nearer to our own times ; in the middle of the last century the people took up arms against the tyranny and oppression of the then king, Charles I. They succeeded in their warfare, and brought the king to punishment. Nevertheless for five years together immediately after their success, wheat was upon the average near 4l. per qr. If this was the *average* of the whole year, it is clear that wheat must have been at particular times much dearer than it is now. And if it be considered, that at that time money was much scarcer and more valuable than it is at present, the evil must have been beyond all measure greater than we now feel it. This statement does not at all affect the question which party was right ; it only shews that a time of public tumult is most likely to make provisions still dearer. Let us all then, the poor as well as the rich, heartily and contentedly contribute our respective parts to make the present calamity as easy to each other as

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possible.

possible. It is the duty of the government to plan with unremitting vigilance the means of dealing out the corn so frugally that it may last till harvest; it is the duty of the rich to abstain from those luxuries, which consume corn and provisions faster than is absolutely necessary; it is also the duty of the poor to be patient under a calamity, which discontent will only render more grievous. If times are hard,—while the rich are called upon to be charitable, the industry of the poor should be more active and chearful. Whatever other vices the rich may have, they do not want humanity in this country; for there is no country throughout the known world where so much charity is bestowed as in England. There is hardly a street throughout the cities of London and Westminster, which does not contain some building or some society for the relief of the distresses of our fellow creatures. There are hospitals for the sick and the maimed,—dispensaries to bestow medicines at the habitations of the poor,—institutions to give assistance to poor women in childbed,—some to shelter the unhappy creature who is deprived of his reason,—some to educate poor children and put them out to trades, and others to receive helpless infants, and fatherless and motherless orphans. The whole neighbourhood of London abounds with alms houses for aged and indigent persons. And besides all these

there is no nation, except our own, which provides a regular maintenance for the sick, the aged, and the helpless poor by parish relief. These facts are earnestly recommended to the serious consideration of the labouring members of the community; and let them calmly ask themselves, Whether they are likely to ease the hardships of the times by insurrection? One thing more the author would recommend, before he takes leave of a part of his fellow-creatures for whom he feels as much as they can feel for themselves, and whose interests he would spare no pains to promote; and that is as to the nature of the provisions they purchase. On this head the author wishes it to be understood that he should be ashamed to recommend to the poor what he and his family would not readily eat. The bread corn must at all events be made to last out till the harvest; this can only be done by using a coarse bread, which will make the flour go a great deal farther. This bread is more wholesome than the white,—it is moister and sweeter,—and keeps longer without being stale. This has always been considered as a luxury among higher tables, where no other is often eaten. The poor then will have no objection to eat for a time that bread which the rich use at their tables. It is not intended by this to desire the poor to use coarse bread, while the rich have it in their power to buy white. There

must be but one sort of bread, for both rich and poor, and both must in that respect equally share the hardships of the times. Small families, even with very pretty incomes, are only enabled to make the figure they do, by the help of great frugality. Let the poor imitate their example, and endeavour to make their little pittance go as far as possible. It is recommended to them to buy the coarser meats, and make good soup with herbs, leeks or onions, turnips or carrots, and pearl barley. If this be well made it will go more than twice as far as a small piece of roasted or baked meat,—it will be much cheaper,—and much more palatable. The best spread tables in the kingdom are never without this dish during the whole winter, and none is more heartily partaken of: and if the poor man has a notable wife, there is no reason why he should not have it as good at his own humble board, as the highest man in the nation.

These are the reflections which the author submits to the different classes of people in this kingdom; should they prove of any public advantage large indeed will be his reward; if they make but one poor family easy and comfortable he shall think his labour well bestowed; but whether they are likely to be useful or not, he hopes he *writes*, like what he warmly *feels* himself to be at heart, THE FRIEND OF MAN.

APPENDIX

A P P E N D I X.

THE average price of wheat in each year, from
1595 to 1790 inclusive.

| Years. | Wheat per Qr. | | | Years. | Wheat per Qr. | | |
|--------|------------------|---|----|--------|------------------|------------------------------|--------|
| | £ | s | d | | £ | s | d |
| 1595 | — | 2 | 0 | 0 | *1627 | — | 1 16 0 |
| 1596 | — | 2 | 8 | 0 | *1628 | — | 1 8 0 |
| 1597 | — | 3 | 9 | 6 | 1629 | — | 2 2 0 |
| *1598 | — | 2 | 16 | 8 | 1630 | — | 2 15 8 |
| *1599 | — | 1 | 19 | 2 | 1631 | — | 3 8 0 |
| *1600 | — | 1 | 17 | 8 | 1632 | — | 2 13 4 |
| *1601 | — | 1 | 14 | 10 | 1633 | — | 2 18 0 |
| *1602 | — | 1 | 9 | 4 | 1634 | — | 2 16 0 |
| *1603 | — | 1 | 15 | 4 | 1635 | — | 2 16 0 |
| *1604 | — | 1 | 10 | 8 | 1636 | — | 2 16 8 |
| 1605 | — | 1 | 15 | 10 | 1637 | — | 2 13 0 |
| 1606 | — | 1 | 13 | 0 | 1638 | — | 2 17 4 |
| 1607 | — | 1 | 16 | 8 | 1639 | — | 2 4 10 |
| 1608 | — | 2 | 16 | 8 | 1640 | — | 2 4 8 |
| 1609 | — | 2 | 10 | 0 | 1641 | — | 2 8 0 |
| 1610 | — | 1 | 15 | 10 | 1642 | } wanting in the account. | |
| 1611 | — | 1 | 18 | 8 | 1643 | | |
| 1612 | — | 2 | 2 | 4 | 1644 | | |
| 1613 | — | 2 | 8 | 8 | 1645 | | |
| 1614 | — | 2 | 1 | 8½ | 1646 | — | 2 8 0 |
| 1615 | — | 1 | 18 | 8 | 1647 | — | 3 13 8 |
| 1616 | — | 2 | 0 | 4 | 1648 | — | 4 5 0 |
| 1617 | — | 2 | 8 | 8 | 1649 | — | 4 0 0 |
| 1618 | — | 2 | 6 | 8 | 1650 | — | 3 16 8 |
| 1619 | — | 1 | 15 | 4 | *1651 | — | 3 13 4 |
| 1620 | — | 1 | 10 | 4 | *1652 | — | 2 9 6 |
| 1621 | — | 1 | 10 | 4 | *1653 | — | 1 15 6 |
| 1622 | — | 2 | 18 | 8 | 1654 | — | 1 6 0 |
| 1623 | — | 2 | 12 | 0 | *1655 | — | 1 13 4 |
| *1624 | — | 2 | 8 | 0 | *1656 | — | 2 3 0 |
| *1625 | — | 2 | 12 | 0 | *1657 | — | 2 6 8 |
| *1626 | — | 2 | 9 | 4 | *1658 | — | 3 5 0 |
| | | | | | | Years | |

| Years. | Wheat per Qr. | | | Years. | Wheat per Qr. | | |
|--------|------------------|---|------|--------|------------------|---|-------|
| | £ | s | d | | £ | s | d |
| *1659 | — | 3 | 6 0 | *1694 | — | 3 | 4 0 |
| *1660 | — | 2 | 16 6 | *1695 | — | 2 | 13 0 |
| 1661 | — | 3 | 10 0 | *1696 | — | 3 | 11 0 |
| 1662 | — | 3 | 14 0 | *1697 | — | 3 | 0 0 |
| 1663 | — | 2 | 17 0 | 1698 | — | 3 | 8 4 |
| 1664 | — | 2 | 0 6 | 1699 | — | 3 | 4 0 |
| 1665 | — | 2 | 9 4 | 1700 | — | 2 | 0 0 |
| *1666 | — | 1 | 16 0 | 1701 | — | 1 | 17 8 |
| *1667 | — | 1 | 16 0 | *1702 | — | 1 | 9 6 |
| 1668 | — | 2 | 0 0 | *1703 | — | 1 | 16 0 |
| *1669 | — | 2 | 4 4 | *1704 | — | 2 | 6 6 |
| *1670 | — | 2 | 1 8 | *1705 | — | 1 | 10 0 |
| *1671 | — | 2 | 2 0 | *1706 | — | 1 | 6 0 |
| *1672 | — | 2 | 1 0 | *1707 | — | 1 | 8 6 |
| *1673 | — | 2 | 6 8 | *1708 | — | 2 | 1 6 |
| 1674 | — | 3 | 8 8 | *1709 | — | 3 | 18 6 |
| 1675 | — | 3 | 4 8 | *1710 | — | 3 | 18 0 |
| 1676 | — | 1 | 18 0 | *1711 | — | 2 | 14 0 |
| 1677 | — | 2 | 2 0 | *1712 | — | 2 | 6 4 |
| 1678 | — | 2 | 19 0 | *1713 | — | 2 | 11 0 |
| 1679 | — | 3 | 0 0 | 1714 | — | 2 | 10 4 |
| 1680 | — | 2 | 5 0 | 1715 | — | 2 | 3 0 |
| 1681 | — | 2 | 6 8 | 1716 | — | 2 | 8 0 |
| 1682 | — | 2 | 4 0 | 1717 | — | 2 | 5 8 |
| 1683 | — | 2 | 0 0 | *1718 | — | 1 | 18 10 |
| 1684 | — | 2 | 4 0 | *1719 | — | 1 | 15 0 |
| 1685 | — | 2 | 6 8 | *1720 | — | 1 | 17 0 |
| 1686 | — | 1 | 14 0 | *1721 | — | 1 | 17 6 |
| 1687 | — | 1 | 5 2 | 1722 | — | 1 | 16 0 |
| 1688 | — | 2 | 6 0 | 1723 | — | 1 | 14 8 |
| *1689 | — | 1 | 10 0 | 1724 | — | 1 | 17 0 |
| *1690 | — | 1 | 14 8 | 1725 | — | 2 | 8 6 |
| *1691 | — | 1 | 14 0 | 1726 | — | 2 | 6 0 |
| *1692 | — | 2 | 6 8 | 1727 | — | 2 | 2 0 |
| *1693 | — | 3 | 7 8 | 1728 | — | 2 | 14 6 |

Years

| Years. | Wheat per Qr. | | | Years. | Wheat per Qr. | | |
|--------|------------------|---|-------|--------|------------------|---|-------|
| | £ | s | d | | £ | s | d |
| 1729 | — | 2 | 6 10 | *1760 | — | 1 | 16 6 |
| 1730 | — | 1 | 16 6 | *1761 | — | 1 | 10 3 |
| 1731 | — | 1 | 12 10 | *1762 | — | 1 | 19 0 |
| 1732 | — | 1 | 6 8 | 1763 | — | 2 | 0 9 |
| 1733 | — | 1 | 8 4 | 1764 | — | 2 | 6 9 |
| 1734 | — | 1 | 18 10 | | | | |
| 1735 | — | 2 | 3 0 | 1766 | — | 2 | 3 1 |
| 1736 | — | 2 | 0 4 | 1767 | — | 3 | 4 6 |
| 1737 | — | 1 | 18 0 | 1768 | — | 3 | 0 6 |
| 1738 | — | 1 | 15 6 | 1769 | — | 2 | 5 8 |
| *1739 | — | 1 | 18 6 | 1770 | — | 2 | 9 0 |
| *1740 | — | 2 | 10 8 | 1771 | — | 2 | 7 2 |
| *1741 | — | 2 | 6 8 | 1772 | — | 2 | 10 8 |
| *1742 | — | 1 | 14 0 | 1773 | — | 2 | 11 0 |
| *1743 | — | 1 | 4 10 | 1774 | — | 2 | 12 8 |
| *1744 | — | 1 | 4 10 | *1775 | — | 2 | 8 4 |
| *1745 | — | 1 | 7 6 | *1776 | — | 1 | 18 2 |
| *1746 | — | 1 | 19 0 | *1777 | — | 2 | 5 6 |
| *1747 | — | 1 | 14 10 | *1778 | — | 2 | 2 0 |
| *1748 | — | 1 | 17 0 | *1779 | — | 1 | 13 8 |
| 1749 | — | 1 | 17 0 | *1780 | — | 1 | 15 8 |
| 1750 | — | 1 | 12 6 | *1781 | — | 2 | 4 8 |
| 1751 | — | 1 | 18 6 | *1782 | — | 2 | 7 10 |
| 1752 | — | 2 | 1 10 | *1783 | — | 2 | 12 8 |
| 1753 | — | 2 | 4 8 | 1784 | — | 2 | 8 10 |
| 1754 | — | 1 | 14 8 | 1785 | — | 2 | 1 10 |
| 1755 | — | 1 | 13 10 | 1786 | — | 1 | 18 10 |
| *1756 | — | 2 | 5 3 | 1787 | — | 2 | 1 2 |
| *1757 | — | 3 | 0 0 | 1788 | — | 2 | 5 0 |
| *1758 | — | 2 | 10 0 | 1789 | — | 2 | 11 2 |
| *1759 | — | 1 | 19 10 | 1790 | — | 2 | 13 2 |

* This table from 1595 to 1764 inclusive is taken from Smith's Corn Tracts before referred to; from 1765 to 1770 inclusive from Lord Hawkesbury's office; and from 1771 to 1790 inclusive from Catherwood's Tables.

The

The years marked thus (*) were years of war ; from an attentive consideration of which it will appear that the calamity of war has had no effect upon the price of wheat. In the few years in which the prices were high it may fairly be attributed to unfavourable seasons, as in far the greater numbers of years the average is very low. It is desirable on every occasion, particularly when it is of public concern, to find the true causes of things ; else we may be led into very fatal errors. This statement therefore is given to prevent the public mind from fixing upon an ill founded cause of distress, and not for the sake of making war less odious. No man can hold war in greater horror than the author of this Address ; and no man would make greater sacrifices for the continuance of peace. He considers that public wars and private self defence depend exactly upon the same principle, and admit of no other ground of justification. Nevertheless he would have all men form just opinions upon public questions, and make strict impartial truth the groundwork of all their arguments.



F I N I S.